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Pakidái

/28 cont./

291
114 circumcision, is more suggestive. "Not that the opening is enlarged; it is a matter of a gymnastic treatment of phimosis rather than an operative one. Do they not stretch the skin which the others cut? Do they not make room inside, where the others make it toward the outside? This may be doubted least of all for the clamping of the preputium by means of the hip cord, which, as has already been mentioned, seems to be the oldest form, for the hip cord has been retained everywhere. The skin was roughly pulled forward with the cuff. Among young men it often looked sore and scraped. The European has the shoemaker put shoes that are too tight upon the last, but in the interior of Brazil, where only finished, imported goods are bought, a man of social standing thinks nothing of appearing in patent leather shoes which he has widened by a couple of vigorous slashes. His knife is to the shoemaker's last what the circumcising splinter or thorn is to the hip cord"(144).

144. Karl von den Steinen, 1894, p. 199.

Besides the verified feeling of modesty, this assumption may
● [833] quite possibly be a second reason. One would then have a parallel, as it were, to the girls who are deflowered with the finger by the mother after the first year of life; it is expressly stated that this is done to facilitate sexual intercourse later on (see p. 135).

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184 Among other Yanonámi tribes, too, the hip cord of plant fibers or cotton is used by both sexes, /29/ and the men likewise tie up the penis with it. I was able to verify this among members of the Xiriána, Puseheweteri, and Aramamesteri who, as wives or visitors, were staying in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái. The captive Karauateri girl, Nikeromá, also always wore a hip cord and told me that this was characteristic for her tribe and that the men likewise stuck the member under it. Similarly, Zerries (145) and Hübner (146) point out that the

145. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

146. Hübner, 1907, p. 231 and Fig. 12.

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/63 cont./

854 593 It is simply touching to see how lovingly and solicitously every mother treats her child. But the love of the father is no less great. He openly acknowledges the child and clearly shows his feelings of pride and fatherliness (318), though he is otherwise

[114] [171]

318. In contrast to this, Alexander von Humboldt, with reference to the Indians on the Orinoco, writes that fathers do not have any affection for their children (A. von Humboldt, 1860, III, p. 155).

very reserved in his expressions of feeling. When he comes wearily into the communal house after a strenuous hunting expedition or from his field work, he never forgets to devote himself first of all to his little child for a while. He either takes it on his arm and goes walking with it, or he lays it beside him in the hammock. Even during migrations of the tribe he sometimes [858] carries the child for hours. Moreover, he loves a daughter just as much as a son.

854 304 During the first year of life the ear lobes and the lower lips of boys and girls are pierced by the mother with a sharp palm thorn, and, in addition, the girls are given perforations in the corners of the mouth. To prevent the wounds from healing, small wooden rods are stuck in temporarily and moved back and forth 304 frequently.

854 833 When a little girl has completed the first year of life, she is deflowered by the mother with her finger. This procedure is done in preparation for sexual intercourse later on.

114 171 Similar procedures were observed by von Feldner among the Machacarí /Mashacali/ Indians, and he describes them as follows: 854 "Nulla inter illas invenitur virgo, quia mater inde a tenera aetate 833 filiae maxima cum cura omnem vaginae constrictionem 304 ingredimentumque amovere studet hoc quidem modo: manui dextrae imponitur folium arboris in infundibuli formam redactum, et dum index, in partes genitales immissus huc et illud movetur, per infundibulum aqua tepida immittitur" (319). In this connection

319. von Feldner, 1828, II, p. 149, footnote.

/63 cont./

114 191 854 833 304 Ploss and Bartels have already observed: "These manipulations probably serve not so much the purpose of cleanliness as preparation for the later sexual functions" (320).

320. Ploss and Bartels, 1927, p. 376.

171 304 854 A custom which is said to prevail in Paraguay should be mentioned in this connection. When a girl is born there, the midwife inserts her finger into the vagina and says: This is a woman (321). Unfortunately, there is no account of the origin

321. Written communication from Montegazza to Ploss (Ploss, 1912, p. 219).

of this custom. It is possible that it was taken over from Indians, because in Paraguay the Indian population is, of course, numerically the largest.

Among most South American tribes for whom there is evidence of an artificial destruction of the hymen, however, chiefly those of the Tukano /Tucano/ and Pano linguistic families, but also some of the Aruaken /Arawak/ and Tupi, it is done for ritualistic purposes at the onset of puberty (322).

322. Fuchs, 1956, pp. 79-81.

Among the Totonaken /Totonac/ in Mexico it is one of the duties of two priests to destroy with their fingers the hymen of female babies 28-29 days after birth. At the same time they ordered the mothers to repeat the defloration six years later with their fingers (323). Strebel regards this procedure as a castigation rite,

323. Krickeberg, 1918-1922, p. 47.

corresponding to the circumcision of male infants, which was also carried out by the priests. "Even the child was to pay its tribute to the gods, /64/ and the fact that the sexual parts were chosen for

171 /64 cont./
304 this is likewise understandable, considering their significance,
854 though the least possible loss of blood may also have been a consideration" (324).

324. Strebel, 1885, p. 13.

854 On the other hand, with regard to the Surára and Pakidái
304 it should be noted that there is no circumcision of boys among them
[833] and the defloration of small girls unequivocally serves for later sexual intercourse; there are no religious motives or hygienic reasons connected with it. Whether this was different in former times neither the chiefs nor older men and women were able to say (325a).

171 325a. It is an interesting fact that among the
304 Itälmen on Kamchatka little girls are de-
854 flowered at a very tender age by their mothers in the same manner as among the Surára and Pakidái and for the same reason (Stellers, 1774, p. 346).

This type of body deformation has been documented for China and Indonesia too. It is done there, however, for hygienic purposes, in order to remove the mucus which gathers in the genitalia (Ploss, 1912, pp. 218/19).

593 It should be mentioned further that all Surára and Pakidái
839 fathers often touch the vulva of their small daughters with the mouth and gently suck on it.

854 If a man has two or more wives, they help each other in
[595] caring for a baby. The grandmother, a sister, or the eldest
[593] daughter are also loving helpers. Infant care, of course, does
854 not require much trouble, for regular baths are unknown. It is
515 only when the crust of dirt is a little too thick that the mother washes it off a bit when she goes to fetch water from the river. The infrequent washing has the advantage that the skin is more
000 nearly invulnerable to mosquito bites. If the child's nose is not

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Pakidái

/65 cont./

524 child" or "married couple." In the latter game sexual activity
524 is already often involved. As long as the children have not yet
864 reached puberty, the adults laugh about it. It is only the mothers of girls who are a little annoyed when they hear about it. They do not regard it as tragic, however, since they themselves were reprimanded about it by their mothers when they were little girls.

/66/

582 g) Marriage

At the age of 7-8 a girl as a rule has already been given in
585 marriage. The husband is usually 8-10 years older. They do not as yet lead a regular married life, however. During the day the little girl plays with other children, and only at night does she sleep
[833] in her hammock beside her husband. Sexual intercourse, however, is strictly forbidden until after the second menstruation. She also
[593] fetches firewood and water and receives prepared food for herself and her husband from her family. When the tribe is on the march,
[484] she carries the hammock of her spouse and the few household articles. Economic reasons are connected with this marriage in childhood, for the young husband must hunt for his little wife and
606 her parents. Especially noteworthy is the reserve toward in-laws which operate in such a way that son-in-law and mother-in-law never
582 speak to each other and may not visit each other. Since the fear of incest is very great in both tribes, a marriage, which is always agreed upon by the parents, may be entered into only by partners who are not related by kinship. For this reason young wives are preferably obtained from a friendly tribe; in this case, however, the young man must live there until his wife has put her second
583 menstruation behind her. Occasionally young girls and women are abducted from hostile tribes. They are first held as captives and prostitutes for some time, however, before a man may finally marry them. I met such a little female captive among the Surára. She came from the hostile tribe of the Karauaterí and was approximately 15 or 16 years old.

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/68 cont./

755 884 86 hopping, etc. The other members of the tribe pay no attention to such prayers and magic performances. Only the chiefs and their student helpers sometimes listen more carefully. Then it sometimes happened that Hewemão would shake his head and tell me that this or that man was praying all wrong, he had undoubtedly not paid sufficient attention during the lessons. If he notes such deficiencies often, it may happen that he will request the man in question to take part in another two-month training course in order to increase his knowledge.

756 171 There is evidence that this type of training, in similar form, occurs among the Jívaro, where prospective shamans receive instruction for one month, in the course of which the neophyte must also fast and drink various drugs, including tobacco juice and cayapi. The training costs, however, are very high (329).

329. Stirling, 1938, pp. 117/18.

756 884 For the young Surára and Pakidái men the instruction is free, to be sure, but mandatory.

834 833 j) Sex life

The behavior of the sexes toward each other in public is extraordinarily decent. Kisses, embraces, or other manifestations of affection are unknown to them. Physical demonstrations of love are carried out in the forest, away from the maloka, or in the dark of night when it is assumed that the other members of the tribe are sleeping. Hunting expeditions also offer a favorable opportunity, for the wife occasionally accompanies her husband. [595] Since some men have two wives, they go hunting in turn with the first and with the second.

843 837 [593] If a woman is pregnant, she is supposed to come together frequently with other men, for it is believed that only through this can her child become stronger. It must occur in all secrecy, however, for if her husband surprises her during coitus with a lover, he challenges the latter to a stick duel, and she herself will be abused by him (330).

330. Becher, 1959, p. 162.

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.